

WITH TWO PRESIDENTS

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TWO PRESIDENTS
THE INSIDE STORY

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Preface

Few young officers of the Defence Services have had the opportunity of serving as aide-de-camp to the President of India. I am one of those few. I held this privileged office from 1961 to 1963 when I was a Captain of the Guards. I had a double distinction. I was ADC to the first two Presidents of the Indian Republic. Living under the same roof, part of the same household, in very close contact both by day and night with the holder of the highest office in the land, an ADC, though a humble cog in the machine, is privileged to see and hear things that however trivial they may seem in themselves illuminate historic events and the persons involved in them.

Rashtrapati Bhavan to the lay mind is the place where with a stroke of the pen, dictated by the Government, the destiny of individuals and of the country as a whole is decided. Inside the House, as the members of the presidential staff call it, life is treated like a game of bridge. One tries to make the best of the cards, good or bad, dealt him. The House may be described as a whispering gallery, a place where rumours come in from many sources and influence opinion, and then out again magnified, diminished, distorted.

Presidents are no less intensely human when seen at close quarters than their subjects. One of the holders of this august office gathered astrologers round him to assure himself and members of his circle that he was predestined to die in harness. Another assembled a panel of doctors to assure the Government that he was fit for a second term.

This book is basically a compilation from a diary of events. It is an attempt to fashion a connected story out of certain happenings in the official residence of the Indian head of state

PREFACE

from January 1961 to November 1963. This was a very controversial period in the history of the newborn republic and my narrative might help shed some light on certain obscure patches.

Here let me hasten to add that I am not a historian. Nor does my book contain judgments on the events I have recorded and the people whose names figure in it. Its prime object is to entertain, to take the ordinary citizen behind the scenes and show him the human side of some of the great ones of our land as well as those of other countries. In this task I hope I have been able to present a truthful and balanced picture.

At the same time, however, I flatter myself that this recital will enable my readers to have a backstage view of Rashtrapati Bhavan and in the process to obtain some insights into important national events in the period I cover. I offer no more than that.

But let me, in conclusion, add a warning. There are no sensational exposures in the following pages, no parading of skeletons in cupboards, no shocking scandals to titillate the muckraker. If, in the following pages, I have succeeded in bringing the distant personalities I write about closer to my readers, investing what are merely exalted names with real flesh and blood, I shall be more than rewarded.

Lastly, I extend my deep gratitude to Mr David of Poona and Dr K.L. Sarkar of Calcutta for inspiring me to write this book, and to Mr Trevor Driberg for going through the manuscript.

C. L. DATTA

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Dedicated to My Father

Influences

*Officered well, an Indian soldier is one of the finest,
as there are no bad men but only bad officers.*

It was a cold grey morning of January in New Delhi. Out for a walk in Vijay Chowk, I saw the ceremonial guard being mounted in front of Rashtrapati Bhavan. The officer wearing a black, peaked cap and gaberdine uniform marched smartly, heading the contingent. Every time he gave a full-throated word of command, his frozen breath scattered the fog. The foggy silhouette of Rashtrapati Bhavan, forming the backdrop, held out a beautiful promise of the future to a young officer.

The uniform lured me when I was 15, fresh from high school. This was perfectly natural. The British Raj had named certain Indian races martial. In undivided Punjab besides the Muslims and Jats this designation was given among Hindus only to the Mohyal Brahmins, of whom I was one. They were a militant clan, descended according to legend from Dronacharya, the initiator of the Pandavas into the art of war. Unlike other Brahmins who only performed religious rituals and other priestly duties, the Mohyals were primarily farmers and fighters. They were a rugged, sturdy folk, straightforward in their dealings and ever ready to lay down their lives in defence of their honour.

The Mohyals comprise seven sub-castes—Datt (popularly known as Datta), Chhibber, Bali, Mohan, Vaid, Bhamwal and Law. Porus, who fought the Greek invader Alexander the Great, was a Vaid. Titles like Bakshi, Chowdhury, Raizada and Mehta were conferred on them by the various rulers of Punjab for the distinguished services they rendered on the battlefield throughout the passage of history.

The folklore of the Mohyals extols the sacrifice of thousands of lives in combat with the imperial Moghul army to prevent a Hindu girl from being snatched away from her home to be inducted into the royal harem. There is the amazing feat of a Chhibber, Baba Praga, a general who at the age of 100 clove in two with his sword a Moghul general and the horse he sat on. This happened in the reign of Shahjahan. Another Chhibber, Bhai Mati Das, suffered martyrdom at the same time as Guru Tegh Bahadur for refusing to become

a Muslim at the behest of Emperor Aurangzeb. Mati Das was sawn in two at Chandni Chowk, where the Fountain now stands, in the presence of the Guru.

The brilliant military campaigns of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the first half of the 19th century would not have been possible without his well-organized artillery units. Consisting mostly of Balis, they were considered the best in India at that time. Commanded by two foreign officers, Gen Gardiner and Gen Court, they were the nucleus of the artillery units of the Indian Army today. Gen Wazir Singh, who conceived the campaign in Kashmir in the early 19th century along with Hari Singh Nalwa, was a Datt. He was later given the title Karrak (Dazzler) Singh for this feat.

According to official records, probably, the first Military Cross won by a member of the Indian Army in World War I went to a medical officer, Bali. In the recent operations against China and Pakistan fighting men of the Mohyal clan received three Mahavir Chakras and more than 11 Vir Chakras besides several other citations.

The Mohyals, emotionally closely knit, spread themselves in the 19th century in the Northwest Frontier Province, in Gurdaspur district of Punjab and places like Gulyana, Veerum, Daoba and Kanjrur in the Jhelum Valley. These places came to be known as Veerum Datta'n (the plural of Datta) and Kanjrur Datta'n.

Chowdhary Salig Ram Datta from Kanjrur was a court official in a small state in Daoba. He had two sons and a daughter—Ram Nath, Amar Nath (my father) and Durga Devi. Ram Nath Datta became an engineer when he grew up and was in charge of construction of the headworks at Hussainwala and Sulaimanki near Ferozepore, a town in Punjab now on the India-West Pakistan border. He was awarded a gold medal by the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, in 1928 on the completion of this arduous task. A few years late Ram Nath Datta resigned from government service rather than undertake the disposal of the body of the revolutionary Sardar Bhagat Singh

secretly on the bank of the Sutlej. The British authorities had carried out the death sentence on him a day ahead of schedule, fearing bloodshed in Punjab.

Chowdhary Amar Nath Datta was brought up from the age of 10 by his elder brother Ram Nath, his father having died when he was still a boy. After passing the Bachelor of Arts examination of the University of Lahore he entered the Provincial Civil Service of Punjab. He rose to be a deputy collector and was a close friend of the late Lt-Gen Kulwant Singh Datta, GOC-in-C, Western Command. I recall my father as a man of unswerving honesty and inflexible principles. He refused to compromise on truth.

An incident which took place when I was eight years old is still vivid in my memory. My father's last posting was at Renala Khurd, Montgomery District, now in Pakistan. I returned one evening from shooting practice with a new single-barrelled 12-bore gun to see a naked, protesting man being held down by seven of our house servants and literally bathed in cow's ghee. This strange ceremony had my father's entire office staff as spectators. The man, a murabbadar owning about 200 murabbas of land, equivalent to 500 acres, had offered my father 34 tuns of ghee, two horses, two buffaloes and a donkey as a bribe. To purify the sinner my father ordered that all the tuns of ghee be emptied on him in full public view.

Brought up strictly under the eyes of a father who was also a mother to me (I lost my mother when I was five), I had varied education. From four to six years I studied at a school run by a German missionary who was a Sanskrit scholar. I had my first lessons in Hindi here. The missionary was one of the few Germans who was not interned in World War II.

When independence and its sad corollary partition came, father opted for Pakistan. He enjoyed a high reputation among Punjab Government circles as an able administrator and an upright one as well. His best friends were Muslims. Up to July 27, 1947, there was no alarm or panic in Montgo-

mery District. Hindus and Muslims continued to live amicably and at peace as they had done for generations although ominous reports of communal clashes were pouring in from other parts of the province.

Our entire family of four brothers and two sisters left Renala Khurd for Dehra Dun for our summer vacation. Father, who had just recovered from a paralytic stroke, was to follow on August 11. The air at Lahore railway station was charged with tension. We were entering a different world, one where the floodgates of communal hate had burst and large numbers of people, thousands of them, were fleeing their ancestral homes with whatever scanty belongings they could carry in search of safety. The trains were full and overflowing. People swarmed on the roofs of compartments, clinging desperately to their bundles, as precious to them as life itself. At the station I saw a man with a stab wound in his back. Blood was oozing out of it, and his shirt was soaked in blood. Something twisted inside me. I was overcome by nausea. Would we ever return to Renala Khurd, I asked myself. I knew the answer.

We did not go back. Father, who had arrived in the last train to cross the India-Pakistan border before it was sealed, was unwell again. We had brought with us only some summer apparel and entrusted everything in our house to the faithful Muslim zilladar. On September 23 we had a letter from him informing us of events we had dreaded although we felt they were inevitable. A mob of about 3,000 had attacked our house. The zilladar's chowkidar had lost his life resisting them. All that was left after a day's looting was a few charpoys and the torn covers of a children's magazine.

My education continued in the religious atmosphere of Swarg Ashram, an institution run on ancient Aryan lines at Rishikesh, in the upper valley of the Ganga. English was taught here. I passed my high school examination privately at Dehra Dun and migrated to Delhi for my college education.

I appeared for a competitive examination for the Army in

mid-1951. Then came an interview, and I was selected for the National Defence Academy, Dehra Dun, joining in January 1952. What lay ahead in a soldier's life—except what I had read in the biographies of many famous soldiers—was an unexplored mystery to me.

At the Academy, life was tough. I had joined the Joint Services Wing, training all three services together. I was an Army cadet. We had to train for two years in the JSW and another two at the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun.

The Joint Services Wing was housed in the old artillery barracks at Clement Town. There were four cadets to a room. The fourth course was the seniormost. Cadet Malhotra of this course was the wing cadet captain. Smart, handsome and an all-rounder, he was a *model to emulate*. Later, he resigned from the Navy and married a princess of Gwalior.

Training was hard. The two years were divided into four terms, each ending with examinations. Life was a rush. The first term was a dog's life—running, marching, shouting and bullying were its hallmarks. There was so little time and so much to do. Between every period changes of dress were required, for example physical training apparel for the first, riding for the second and drill for the third.

The PT instructor extracted every ounce of energy from his pupils. One moment we were upside down, climbing the ropes the next, then crossing the wooden horse. The horses weren't usually cooperative. They were immovable objects, and no amount of kicking had any effect. With our legs astride we sat painfully, looking helplessly at the instructor, who wondered whether we were on a *charpoy* or on horses. There were other horses who showed a lot of promise, went hell for leather towards the obstacle and decided to halt just at the foot of it. Someone must jump; the cadet does, and lands on the other side of the obstacle.

In this condition, the staggering cadet, hardly looking a gentleman, had to rush with sagging hosetops, trailing anklets

and rifle with sling connected at one end which he had snatched from the armoury havildar after having lost the rifle disc. He stood to attention, with a half-foot gap between his shivering knees, on the drill square to be sneered at: "*Yeh cadet malum nahin kaisa hai, uper se attention hai neeche se stand at ease hai.*" British Sergeant-Major Lynch lynched us with his acid tongue and swore himself utterly in favour of birth control in India. The entire squad had a hard time suppressing their grins when the Indian instructor shouted in a brand of Hindi-English of his own coinage: "*Kyon lafta hai, ap bhi lafta hai dusron ko bhi lafata hai.*"

In the evenings, there was quite a scramble with fingers crossed to look for one's name on the punishment list. Such comic relief was the spice of Academy life. The days were full of gruelling jungle warfare camps, route march competitions, obstacle competitions and cross-country races, physical training tests consisting of runs of two miles and ten miles and "chest out and chin in" parades. The one we had for Field Marshal Harding, who came to Dehra Dun after taking the salute at the passing-out parade of the Pakistan Military Academy at Kakul, stood out. We had to put extra "oomph" into the parade to get him to say that it seemed as if he had witnessed the Guards parade in England.

There were also strict respecters of discipline like M.A. Zaki and B.S. Malik. They were always at war with mathematics but good at games. Zaki, who later became my colleague at Rashtrapati Bhavan, was a great example in dress and behaviour to the juniors as well as seniors. He was average in studies but a good, shrewd leader all round. He played his cards well and volunteered to join his battalion (19 Maratha Light Infantry) when it was fighting a rear-guard action as division protection battalion in Darrang Zong, in the Northeast Frontier Agency, during the Chinese onslaught in 1962, being very much aware that staying on any longer at Rashtrapati Bhavan would injure his career in the Army. He had a price on his head when fighting in the Naga

hills. Later he acquitted himself with remarkable bravery in the conflict with Pakistan in 1965 and was awarded the Veer Chakra.

Brig Apji Randhir Singh—the only Indian cadet to be awarded a gold medal at Sandhurst—was the Commandant of IMA. A stern disciplinarian, he did not touch alcohol, was deeply religious and at the same time secular in outlook, and a model officer. He had a tenacious memory and was said to know the names of all the cadets, numbering more than 800, at the Academy. He led an austere life and had rigid views on morality. On one occasion Gen K.S. Thimayya, at that time General Officer Commanding in Chief, Southern Command, declared that only a bachelor could do justice to army life. The Brigadier promptly said that he as Commandant would vouch that it was not difficult to do so though married. Marriage made a man more responsible, and he cited his own example. Ironically, his career in the Army faded after he left the Academy to command a brigade. He never went beyond brigadier's rank and retired.

There were brave officers like Col Gill and Col Gahlaut, who fought a man-eating tiger barehanded in the jungles surrounding Dehra Dun and were awarded Ashok Chakras for this feat. They fought well against China and Pakistan too. Capt Hayde, now a Colonel, was a platoon commander and was awarded the Mahavir Chakra in the war with Pakistan when commanding a Jat battalion. Capt (later Lt-Col) Ajit Singh, who was awarded the MVC for conspicuous bravery at Daulat Beg Oldi, in Ladakh, was another platoon commander.

Once on a visit to the Academy Gen Brij Mohan Kaul lectured us on Chinese methods of warfare and his experience in Korea as the Deputy to Gen Thimayya, who was Chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. He was full of praise for the Chinese, who had laid a special railway line from Pyongyang, the North Korean capital, to the Chinese border for his visit. I asked him: "How is it that in spite

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of the Chinese being imbued with a spirit of patriotism, more than 20,000 Chinese prisoners refused to be repatriated to their country after the war?" He did not answer.

In this hard yet very enjoyable atmosphere of clean living, carefully nurtured in the excellent training ground of the Academy, the cadet is built up into a well-rounded officer—disciplined, reserved, smart, ambitious, loyal and an example to the youth of the nation.

On December 10, 1955, with the fading notes of Auld Lang Syne in my ears, a smile on my lips and tears in my eyes, I passed out of a cadet's life.

*The safety, honour and welfare of your country
comes first, always and every time.*

*The honour, welfare and comfort of the men you
command comes next.*

*Your own ease, comfort and safety comes last, always
and every time.*

I was posted to the 1 Battalion, Brigade of Guards, stationed at Red Fort, Delhi. Scores of people slept on the pavement under the mast of the national flag at the Fort. Each of these poverty-stricken derelicts huddled at night under a thin cotton sheet and shuddered in the biting cold of winter. Sometimes their frozen bodies were taken away in a Municipal Corporation wagon. This was painful to see. We would never redeem our pledge of complete freedom till these people had proper shelter, I thought.

I had the usual training of a junior officer who is called a "spare prick" and does all the dirty work. There was a shortage of officers in the unit and each officer had to perform many duties. The battalion was without a commanding officer and Lt K.D. Majumder was virtually in charge. We had a very good set of officers, Maini, Kami, Jai and Muji. They were smart and efficient, and we were a well-knit unit. The battalion had been in a peace station too long and we were sent in under canvas to Ambala for two years in a training division. The Divisional Commander was Maj-Gen B.M. Kaul.

Kaul was pushing, hard-driving and dynamic. He was good in administration and effective whatever he did. He had under him some very good unit commanders like Col Viegas of the Madras Regiment. Besides training, we took part in Operation Amar and built houses. The houses were halfway up when our battalion was moved out to Uri in Kashmir. This was the first time we set foot in the beautiful valley. It is a corner of paradise and worth fighting for.

We held pickets and life was monotonous. The areas we occupied were farflung and we had to patrol them constantly. I commanded a long-range patrol from Bara Kazinag to the Tithwal sector, the Tootmari ranges and down to Baramulla.

Our commanding officer was not getting on well with the brigade commander and was posted to the Territorial Army. Lt-Col John Dalvi (later a brigadier) took over and put the battalion in shape. The unit was considered one of the best

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in the division in every respect. Dalvi commanded the 7 Infantry Brigade in NEFA and was captured by the Chinese in the initial stages of the fighting in 1962.

Once in my cadet days I visited the Garhwal Rifle Regimental Centre and was told the fascinating story of the ghost of the adjutant of the regiment long dead. The ghost visited and inspected the quarter guard every day on his white charger. A table was laid in the mess for him and the motions of serving him carried out. I remembered this incident at Kala Pass, a few miles beyond Rajouri, where the ghost of a military policeman was said to have directed some jeeps towards a khud, a deep ditch. The jeep drivers, however, ignored the pointing hand and kept to the road. Another incident of an opposite nature occurred in an exercise in the Tangdhar-Tithwal sector when the jeep I was travelling in skidded on a sharp bend and came to a sudden halt as if stopped by a boulder. We jumped out and looked. Yes, it was a boulder. The red hindlight of the jeep fell on a tombstone. The inscription read, "Col Hiren died here in a jeep accident" or words to that effect.

I raised the anti-tank platoon of our battalion when it was included in the war establishment. We worked hard and made this platoon a closely knit team. There was a terrific *esprit de corps* among the men. In the operational area the men and the officers developed very close relations and trusted each other absolutely.

In Kashmir, we hardly came across any civilians except coolies. They were a frightened lot, poor and ill-clad. Some of these casual coolies used to breakfast with us and lunch across the ceasefire line with the "Azad Kashmir" troops. These troops were sturdy but ill-fed. They were short of sugar and tea. We often parted with sugar in exchange for information. Our troops were well-fed and there was no dearth of rations or liquor. The enemy medium machine-gun emplacement across the Jhelum stared right into our picket. It was located at Pandu feature, occupied

in the Kashmir operation in 1947 by the 4 Kumaon under Lt-Col Khanna, who was awarded the Mahavir Chakra for this feat. We carried out intensive patrolling and came under fire off and on.

I was posted out to the Brigade of Guards Training Centre at Kota, in Rajasthan, and with heavy heart took leave of the unit and my anti-tank platoon. It was winter and snowing. The men of the platoon stood shivering in the open to bid me farewell.

Lt-Col Sathe was Commandant of the Centre. He was very strict and famous for his curt manner of speaking to seniors as well as juniors. He had briefly commanded our battalion in Delhi and had told the General Officer Commanding in Chief, Western Command, not to interfere with the administration of the battalion since "Sathe was commanding the battalion and not General...."

Events moved rapidly in the country and I kept myself abreast of the happenings all round. India had entered a crucial phase of the Second Five-Year Plan and the Chinese made a big intrusion at Longju, in the Northeast Frontier Agency, in 1958.

Gen Thimayya resigned as Chief of Army Staff the day President Ayub Khan landed at Palam airport in 1959. Prime Minister Nehru met Ayub and conferred with him for two hours at the airport. On and off he shut his eyes and Gen Ayub thought him rude. As rumoured later, Thimayya resigned because his recommendations for the promotion of certain officers to the rank of lieutenant-general were amended and a promise that he would be made the first field marshal of the Indian Army was not fulfilled. The purpose of these recommendations was to push up Maj-Gen Kaul, who was in high favour with Defence Minister Krishna Menon. Thimayya accordingly made three recommendations:

Maj-Gen P.S. Gyani, Commandant of the Staff College at Wellington in the Nilgiris, who held a staff appoint-

ment in the rank of major-general but held no command appointment.

Maj-Gen P.P. Kumaramangalam, GOC of a division, who held a command appointment but no staff appointment.

Maj-Gen Kaul, whose position was the same as Gen Kumaramangalam's.

Thimayya advised the Government that the qualifications of the three officers being equal they could be considered fit for promotion although they lacked an essential qualification of having held both command and staff appointments.

The Government decided that although Gyani was a promising officer he lacked command experience. Thus Kumaramangalam and Kaul were promoted, but Thimayya's elevation to field marshal was put off indefinitely.

I passed my promotion examination at the Brigade of Guards Training Centre and commanded a company under the strict eye of Col Sathe. He just would not let one's mind waver from professional and personal ethics.

The Indian Army has a hard core of young officers who are strictly professional and call a spade a spade. They are equal to the best professional soldiers in the world. They train hard and lead hard. They are devoted to their men and endeavour to practise the true art of leadership.

"Tomorrow you will put pips on your shoulders. How many of you will be officers? That time will tell." Thimayya said this in a passing-out address to cadets when he was Commandant of IMA.

In August 1960 I was called for an interview for the post of ADC to the President along with two other officers. My posting orders came in December 1960 and I joined the staff of Dr Rajendra Prasad on December 23, 1960, at Rashtrapati Bhavan.

They also serve who only stand and wait.

An aide-de-camp is an officer who carries out the orders of a general or acts as a secretary/officer attending on a head of state and performing the same duties. The term implies that this officer is essentially connected with the army. The assistance that he renders is of a varied nature and a wholetime job. In wartime he carries out reconnaissance, liaison, communication, correspondence, supervision of camps and everything connected with administration.

The fact that he looks after all aspects of a head of state's commitments in execution of his office, including his comfort and convenience, makes him indispensable to the person holding it. He is a friend of the dignitary's family, in whom they find an invaluable and intimate associate who knows his master well—his habits, personal likes and dislikes, idiosyncrasies and other characteristics. He has an intimate knowledge of the standing of that person as a man and as holder of the highest office in the land. The head of state therefore selects his aides-de-camp relying on his personal knowledge of the candidates concerned, who are also highly deserving and recommended by their outfits. Appointment to this office is highly prized. An ADC not only becomes a trusted and loyal official but also a part of the head's family. It is interesting to note that in the British days young officers who could be absorbed into the family through marriage were selected for this post.

The history of how aides-de-camp came to be appointed is very interesting. It dates back to the time of the East India Company. The British Governor-General was also Commander-in-Chief of the Indian armed forces, and he created a separate set-up to go with the second post for administrative convenience. Separate aides were accordingly appointed to serve him in the different capacities of Governor-General and C-in-C.

The practice of appointing aides-de-camp to the personal staff of the Governor-General continued from that time throughout British rule and was carried over into independence.

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In colonial days these young officers were drawn from the British Army and served a definite tenure, going back to their units when this was over and being replaced by fresh ones.

After independence, Lord Mountbatten, the first Governor-General of India, established the precedent of choosing smart young Indian Army officers. Similar appointments were also offered to officers of the other two services, the Navy and the Air Force. To suit the conveniences of some provincial governors young officers were appointed from the police service to their personal staff. There is no set rule for the number of ADCs a President may have. It depends upon administrative convenience.

When India became a republic, the first President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, retained four aides on his personal staff after assuming office. Two were from the Army, one each from the Navy and Air Force. Two Junior Commissioned officers from the Army were also appointed. They were selected in recognition of meritorious service and given the honorary rank of captain. Later, on the formation of the Brigade of Guards in 1951 (on the pattern of the Guards in England) the President, who was its Colonel, appointed an additional ADC from it to his staff. Dr Prasad chose five because he had a large family quartered at Rashtrapati Bhavan.

This is a privileged office, and its holder is always looked upon with a certain amount of jealousy by his colleagues in uniform. The belief that an ADC's job is a cushy one is unfounded. The fact that he stays in the head of state's residence and moves around with him in eye-catching uniforms does not in the least mean that he has no responsibilities. As a matter of fact an ADC shoulders such heavy responsibilities that he cannot afford to make a mistake.

In the prevailing democratic set-up his every action is in full public view. His dealings are mainly with the public. Although in military uniform, he has to adopt a civilian outlook, mould his soldierly ways to fit smoothly into the intricacies of protocol.

A good ADC is not required to be only professionally competent. He must, in addition to being efficient and hardworking, be humble, unassuming, courteous and temperate at all times. All this requires an extraordinary amount of adjustment, an unusual ability on the part of a young officer to be extremely flexible at times, yet adhere to the principles which uphold the dignity and prestige of the nation in executing the duties of his office. He should be up to date on current affairs, and give an impression in dress, speech, bearing and behaviour of good breeding.

The ADC serves on the President's staff at the presidential pleasure. His duties are numerous and their proper execution calls for teamwork. Individual merit which does not contribute to *esprit de corps* is not desirable. The ADC makes his own career, and if he measures up to these exacting qualifications he gets a push towards rapid promotion.

The routine duties of an ADC to the President are many, the underlying principle being that when he is on duty he will assist the President in every way, attending as efficiently as demanded to matters of administration and protocol associated with the presidential functions.

These duties include attending to the President's personal convenience. He affords him personal protection and carries a pistol for this purpose. The ADC must also be prepared to act as a human shield to the President in case he is attacked. Since attempts on the life of a head of state are mostly the work of an individual there is not much more an ADC can do to protect his charge once a potential assailant gets past the inner cordon of security thrown around him.

Plenty of toil and sweat goes into the grandeur and clockwork precision of the various state functions the public often witnesses. The programme of events is drawn up well in advance and rehearsed to perfection. Every step, every movement literally, is measured to produce an effect of dignity and solemnity.

The permanent occasions of state which demand such

elaborate preparations are:

Republic Day Parade, lasting about three hours.

Public receptions at Rashtrapati Bhavan, January 25 and 26.

Opening of the Budget Session of Parliament in February.

Public reception at Rashtrapati Bhavan on Independence Day.

The President's birthday.

There are set rules and timings for all these ceremonies. Special brochures detailing the duties of various members of the presidential staff are issued well in advance and rehearsed over and over again. The same procedure applies to ceremonies for the presentation of regimental colours and of credentials by foreign heads of mission in New Delhi, the reception of a visiting head of state at Delhi airport, and the ceremonial drive from there to Rashtrapati Bhavan.

Those in charge of the arrangements must make allowance for all kinds of contingencies. And in spite of all the care and preparatory work instances of fumbling have occurred. Car and other failures have resulted in snarling up the most carefully arranged programmes.

Once a liaison officer of the Ministry of External Affairs caused a snarl by altering a scheduled programme without informing the ADC on duty. The officer made an appointment for the King of Nepal, who was on a state visit, when the ADC was taking time off to change his dress and have a meal. The King arrived at South Court accompanied by the liaison officer and found no car waiting for him. So far as the ADC was concerned the King should have been resting in his suite at Rashtrapati Bhavan. Hence the Protocol Division of the Ministry of External Affairs and the office of the Military Secretary to the President must maintain the closest touch and cooperate fully when a foreign dignitary visits New Delhi as a guest of the head of state.

King George VI had Indian princes among his aides-de-camp. Once when he was visiting the area of operations after the opening of the second front in Western Europe in World War II with Prime Minister Winston Churchill three maharajas accompanied him. Some British officers who were royal aides also travelled with the party. At one point where the party was to spend the night there were only two well-roofed buildings, one a mansion and the other the quarters for the servants attached to it. The King, Churchill and the British officers stayed in the mansion while the three maharajas shared a room in the servants' quarters.

The aura and decorum which surrounded the personal staff of the British Viceroy was not maintained under the succeeding Indian heads of state. They were not used to having personal staff of this type. In other words, they were not ADC-minded. They looked upon their aides as part of the colourful pageantry they had inherited from the old imperial regime which glorified the cult of personality.

There is the instance of a provincial Governor-designate who was asked by the Comptroller of his household whether he would like to retain the aides-de-camp of his predecessor. The incoming Governor told the Comptroller not to bother about staff as he was bringing his own "servants." This attitude among the new ruling elite spelt danger to the institution of ADC as originally conceived.

I recall one of the staff members at Rashtrapati Bhavan who exploited the talents of his much more accomplished wife to advance his career and lived up to his reputation as a social climber. This official was crude, did not choose his words carefully, was rude to women and fond of misrepresentation. He attributed statements to his colleagues, and when confronted flatly denied what he had said. He strode about Rashtrapati Bhavan with his coat buttons open. Foreigners often laughed at him. He had a zest for ballroom dancing but was devoid of skill, and his partner often walked off the floor.

On one occasion while discussing the duties of his personal staff Dr Radhakrishnan said he had received a note at one of his daily meetings with the public which contained these remarks:

“It is a matter of serious consideration whether the regalia of royalty is a necessary commitment to the republican system of government. Is it at all necessary to add lustre to the politically impotent office of President? His starched, whitewashed, coloured and ribboned aides-de-camp can hardly add an ounce of awe to the office of President when the Constitution has made this office a glittering glorified rubber stamp of the executive government, that is the Cabinet. India, under the present Government pledged to a socialistic pattern of society, could with profit look to both the socialist and the non-monarchist capitalist countries and would see that this debris of the imperial days—ADC—is nowhere to be found around any head of state. Then why are they around the President of India? Probably the last British Governor-General did not feel at home without them around him. It is a matter of debate whether the institution of ADC at Rashtrapati Bhavan would have been maintained if Shri Rajagopalachari had been the first Governor-General instead of Lord Mountbatten.

“Is it necessary that an officer of the rank of major-general, for whose training and maintenance millions of rupees are spent by the exchequer, should be wasted to stand attention behind the President? The President in turn has no professional use for a man of this high military rank, for is he not the Supreme Commander only in name? During the military operations bordering on a real state of war it is a common secret that the views of the Supreme Commander were either non-existent or not available. Probably he had no views. The President is the symbol of every aspect of national unity which takes within its fold all aspects of administration, civil and military, which would ultimately go to maintain this unity. Officers junior to a major-general lose their training in the art

of war. Incidentally, the President of India has maharajas as honorary aides. This is because the Viceroy of India also employed maharajas for this purpose. Nobody seems to have given thought to the utility and the feasibility of maintaining this institution."

On my asking his views on this document, the President made no comment.



*The splendour falls on castle walls
And snowy summits old in story:
The long light shakes across the lakes,
And the wild cataracts leap in glory.
Blow, bugle, blow, set the wild echoes flying,
Answer, echoes, answer, dying dying dying.*

It is said that one day Lord Hardinge, Viceroy of India, was out on a hunt in a nearby village called Rakabganj. The village and its inhabitants were connected with Sikh history. People from it stole the body of Guru Tegh Bahadur, who was executed at the present site of Gurdwara Sisganj on the orders of the Moghul emperor Aurangzeb. The present site of Gurdwara Rakabganj, barely a stone's throw from Rashtrapati Bhavan and Parliament House, is the place where the Guru's body was secreted.

During the hunt the Viceroy went up a hillock. From that elevation he had a good view of the countryside and was so much captivated by its summit and surroundings that he decided to build the Viceregal Lodge (now Rashtrapati Bhavan) on that site. The first Lodge was where the University of Delhi stands today.

Rashtrapati Bhavan is a blend of Gothic and Indian architecture. It has columns unlike those known to Indian architecture and domes unlike those of European architecture. It is said that some stones used in its construction were brought from the different dominions of the British Empire. A large replica of the Star of India, a decoration used by the British to honour devoted subjects, still stands in the compound of Rashtrapati Bhavan.

Second in size only to the Palace of Versailles, Government House, as the Viceregal Lodge was also known, was built in 1914. It took 15 years to build. Construction had to be slowed down because of the outbreak of the First World War. It was taken up vigorously in 1921 and completed in December 1929. The main building occupies five acres, with a dome in the centre. It has 340 rooms and one and a half miles of corridors. The highest point of the dome is 180 ft. The left shoulder is called South Court and the right North Court. South Court houses the guest rooms and certain offices of the Government of India. North Court consists of the apartments of the President and his personal staff. The portion just below the dome is the Durbar Hall, with the Ashoka Hall

and the Banquet Hall next to it. The Ashoka Hall was previously known as the Ballroom. It measures 68 ft by 63 ft. Murals illustrating couplets of the poet Nizami are painted on its ceiling. These murals are a curious mixture of Persian and Buddhist art although done by an Italian. The Banquet Hall measures 104 ft by 32 ft. It is panelled with teak, and the paintings of former Viceroys are hung on its walls in chronological order. The paintings of Dr Prasad and Dr Radhakrishnan which have been added to them were done by Biren De and Nicholas Roerich respectively.

While going round the Banquet Hall on his first visit to India in 1955, Nikita Khrushchev, then Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, turned to Prime Minister Nehru, who was accompanying him, and asked through his interpreter: "Why have the portraits of old British Viceroys who remind you of slavery?" Nehru replied: "You cannot wipe out history by removing these portraits."

The building cost Rs. 1.45 crores. Among the materials used were 7,600 tons of cement, 1,400 tons of steel, 1.45 million cubic feet of stone and 16.6 million bricks. Red and white stone was quarried at Dholpur, white marble at Jodhpur and black at Patiala. Yellow marble came from Jaisalmer and green from Baroda. The only imported marble was the chocolate variety on the floor of the Durbar Hall.

The wood used for the panelling of the doors and windows and furniture were from Indian forests—teak, toon, poon, haldeao. Rosewood, shisham and walnut were used in the furniture craftsmen made in Delhi. Most of the craftsmen came from Kartarpur, Punjab. The stonelayers came from Jaipur, Alwar and Jodhpur. The basement of the building has a number of rooms occupied by essential services such as a water pump, a boiler, store rooms, the kitchen, bakery and smithy.

The Moghul Gardens—the "backyard of Rashtrapati Bhavan" we used to call them—occupy an area of $15\frac{1}{2}$ acres. The portion nearest the main building is the Moghul Gardens

proper, and the farther circular garden and the connecting portion the Purdah Gardens. The gardens were planned and laid at the same time as the main building by Sir Edwin Lutyens, whose statue adorns the Window to the Heavens next to the Banquet Hall. The Moghul Gardens are flanked by terraces. They are in full bloom in February and are open for three weeks to the general public. They grow a variety of roses, including black ones, on the terraces. Ashoka trees are prominent in the central portion. There are three lawns, East Lawn, Central Lawn and West Lawn. These are bordered by stone-flagged pavements and flanked by fountains. Important functions are held on these lawns. The last rays of the sun envelop the entire gardens, investing them and their playing fountains with a sparkle that contrasts strongly with the sombre background of the main building.

Rashtrapati Bhavan is furnished throughout with expensive and exquisite furniture, Persian carpets and chandeliers. The portraits of men and women who mattered in modern Indian history stare down at the visitor, who feels that he is turning over the pages of the past. History lurks in every corner. In the Durbar Hall the princely order of India once swore in all solemnity its allegiance and loyalty to the imperial crown of Britain. Lord Mountbatten was sworn in there as the first constitutional Governor-General of the Dominion of India on August 14, 1947, under the shadow of Buddha's statue, dating beyond 300 B.C. Just about zero hour on that night there was a sudden explosion, caused by a popping camera bulb. Mountbatten was unmoved, though there must have flashed through his mind the threatening anonymous letter which he received the day before he landed at Karachi to take part in Pakistan's Independence Day celebrations. The old Ballroom once resounded to the music of dance bands playing for the guests at the lavish entertainments organized by Vicereines, when swashbuckling gentlemen swept ladies into their arms to the tune of old waltzes, and diamond uaras glittered under the crystal chandeliers as with grace and

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supreme elegance the former rulers of India enjoyed themselves. Those days are gone. This hall is now used only for the presentation of credentials by foreign heads of mission accredited to India.

The study once used by Viceroys and now by Presidents also witnessed many historical events. Mahatma Gandhi entered it for the first and last time in 1947 to breakfast with Mountbatten. Until then no Indian had ever stepped into this mansion without the approval of imperial protocol. It was here that the same Viceroy waited patiently to become the first Governor-General of free India. Dr Prasad, then President of the Constituent Assembly, and Nehru were overwhelmed by the occasion and Prasad forgot his lines. With wet eyes he could only mumble: "Please honour us by being the first Governor-General" or words to that effect. Mountbatten replied with a warm handshake: "It will be an honour for me, and with the help of God I will carry out the duties to the best of my abilities." Nehru ceremonially handed him an envelope supposedly containing the names of his Cabinet ministers, but when Mountbatten opened it to announce the names he found it empty. Nehru had forgotten the list. This was a favourite anecdote of Dr Prasad when he was President.

The guest wing consists of three stories, each having seven bedroom suites. These suites have Indian names. Visiting heads of state stay in the Dwarka Suite. The state reception rooms adjoin the study. The first of them is known as the Morning Room and its colour scheme is turquoise blue and lemon yellow. Next is the Panel Room with walls, floor and ceiling completely covered with Burma teak. This is used for swearing-in ceremonies and for meeting small delegations which call on the President. Next is the ADCs' loggia, where the personal staff dine and have recreation facilities.

The Yellow Drawing Room, where the predominant colour is yellow, lies next. The personal staff of visiting heads of state are introduced to the President here. The room has a

gold record of Gandhi's voice given by Columbia Broadcasting System of the USA and paintings by English and Italian artists. It opens on to a dining room with a large dining table which is used for lunch or dinner parties the President holds to entertain an important dignitary who may not be a head of state. On the wall is a painting illustrating Lao Tse's "circle of life."

The President's Estate has a golf course of 175 acres which is now put under cultivation twice a year. The nursery for plants and the cricket ground cover 48 acres, and the forecourt measures 13 acres. Outside the bounds of Rashtrapati Bhavan are the dwellings of the civilian staff, numbering about 7,000. Rashtrapati Nivas, the presidential lodge at Simla, and a retreat at Mashobra, also in Himachal Pradesh, were under the estate administration. The lodge at Simla has been donated to the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies.

The President's flag flies from the dome of Rashtrapati Bhavan when he is in residence. When he leaves New Delhi the flag comes down. Of architectural interest is the fact that the apex of the dome, the statue of Buddha in the Durbar Hall, Nandi the sacred bull and the Jaipur column outside the hall and the central points of Rajpath and India Gate are in a straight line.

Few heads of state anywhere in the world live in such imposing splendour as the President of India. Under British occupancy, its decor and furniture was Western and in impeccable good taste. After independence, efforts were made to give the mansion an Indian atmosphere, but I am afraid that the people who were entrusted with the task were not the right ones for it. This work was executed by the Comptroller of the Household, an Army officer, with a not very competent band of interior decorators under the direction of a member of the first President's family.

The motivating factor in this renovation was to erase from the eye, if not from the memory, all traces of imperial subjugation, and accordingly the rich and costly velvet curtains

and French tapestry was replaced by Khadi and other hand-made products. The selection of these materials could have been more tastefully done. Maintenance posed a problem, for they became soiled soon and were not changed as often as they should have been.

Exquisite sculptures, furniture fashioned by master craftsmen from original designs, crockery and cut glass were banished to the basement—to gather dust in undeserved obscurity. The paintings which adorned the walls of the main halls of the mansion were orthodoxly Western but nevertheless of a high level of technical competence. They were joined by works which were authentically Indian, but unfortunately very inferior from the artistic point of view. There was a move to relegate the older paintings to the basement, but I believe Nehru and Mrs Indira Gandhi intervened and saved them from oblivion.

Dr Prasad hardly took any interest in seeing that Rashtrapati Bhavan was maintained properly. This task was left to the Comptroller and his assistant. The housekeeper was too old to bother about it, her frequent rounds of the huge complex being for the purpose of scolding the servants.

The khidmatgars and the khalasis were hardworking and honest. They knew their jobs and performed them conscientiously, having served under the strict comptrollers of the British days. They had to work well, for the Viceroy, including Mountbatten, took a close personal interest in maintenance. Lady Mountbatten made a thorough tour of inspection every morning before settling down to her other work.

But now things were different. Laxness had set in everywhere. Since the supervisors were lax the servants naturally took things easy themselves. Often the servants sought redress for grievances so petty that it seemed ridiculous that one should have complaints of this nature in the official residence of the head of state.

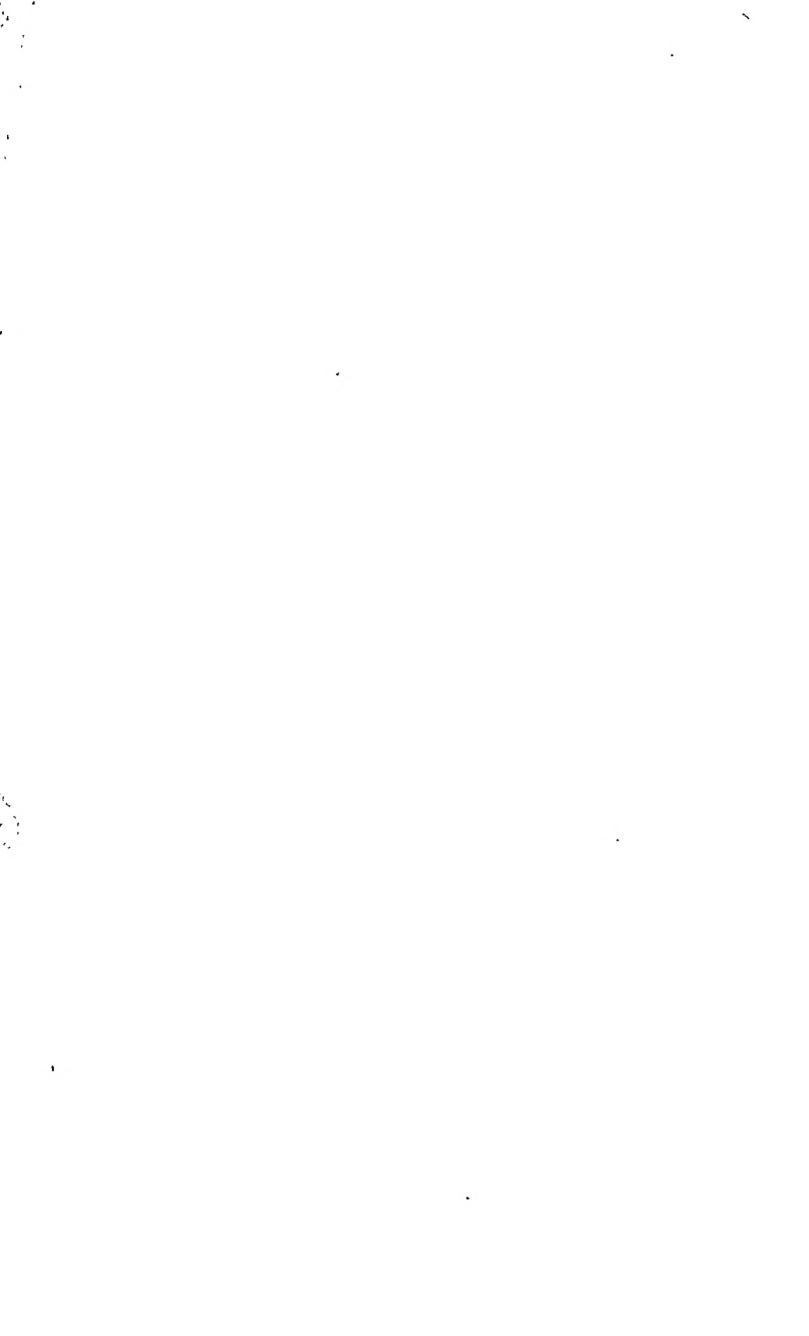
During Dr Prasad's time, the cuisine at Rashtrapati Bhavan

was not up to much in spite of the fact that there was a catering supervisor and a score of cooks, a kitchen with the most up-to-date gadgets and a specially built cooking-range, deep freezes and the other requirements stipulated by Government House regulations. The food served up was so bad that at

on an aide from the supply branch of the Navy. This resulted in an improvement. Meals were of a high order during Dr Radhakrishnan's occupancy of Rashtrapati Bhavan.

Indeed, there was an all-round improvement in the tone of the presidential mansion during his incumbency. Mrs Gopal, his daughter-in-law, had a keen sense of what was in good taste in household design and took upon herself the task of redecoration. Dust-catching khadi was replaced by raw silk for hangings, precious wares were dug out of the lumber rooms in the basement, cleaned thoroughly and put back in their old seats of honour.

Mrs Gopal brought about changes that were typically Indian, modern and in excellent taste. She not only renovated the guest apartments in South Court but also took a keen interest in the comfort of the President's personal staff, especially the aides-de-camp. Dr Radhakrishnan shared this concern for style in living. On and off he paid surprise visits to various parts of the mansion, not omitting the kitchen and the pantry and scullery, and if he found a fan or light unnecessarily on issued a reprimand to the person responsible.



The First Head

Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.

On January 26, 1950, India emerged as a republic about two and a half years after independence. Dr Prasad stepped into the highest seat of "no power" to launch his new enterprise "with truth and non-violence and, above all, with heart within and God above." Temperamentally meek and mild and unassertive, he lent a quiet dignity to the office. He was so averse to controversy and dispute that he did not object even when All India Radio censored his broadcast speeches.

Nehru wanted Rajagopalachari to be the first President of the Republic. He felt that as Governor-General Rajagopalachari had familiarized himself with the functions of the office. Besides, he had made a profound impression on the diplomatic corps in New Delhi. But the majority of other Congress leaders overruled Nehru. They preferred Prasad. It is interesting to note that Prasad finds mention in Nehru's *Autobiography*, written in 1935, only once, and this in a footnote.

On the other hand, when Prasad became president of the Congress, Nehru did not at first find a place in the party Working Committee. Ultimately Maulana Azad managed to get him included in this body. Prasad's election as Congress president followed a big upheaval in the party. This was the result of the crisis created after Subhas Chandra Bose, who had defeated Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Gandhi's nominee for the presidency, by an overwhelming majority, failed to form a Working Committee of anti-Gandhi elements. Bose resigned in disgust and Prasad was a stop-gap choice as president.

Azad observes that in the days of struggle before independence Prasad was accustomed to subordinating his judgment to Gandhi's. Prasad wanted to resign from the Congress Working Committee if it resolved to support the war effort on condition the British declared India free. He even wrote to Azad saying that for him non-violence was more important than even freedom. But he is credited with taking the lead at the time of partition for the instant division of the Indian

Army on the basis of community, the Muslim units going mostly to Pakistan and the others to India.

As President, Prasad lived as before when he had been a lieutenant of Gandhi, simply and austere. His daily work dress was khadi kurta, dhoti and white cap. He wore light pumps on his feet. He was asthmatic, and the ADC on duty had to carry an asthma pump constantly. Wherever the President went the ADC was expected to station himself behind him and hand him the pump at the approach of an attack.

Prasad led a simple life. His wants were few. He spoke little in a low, hoarse voice. But he was mentally very alert. He grasped situations quickly. He had few enemies, if any, but people often took advantage of his generosity and kindness. Large numbers of them from his native village in Bihar flocked to Delhi and installed themselves in Rashtrapati Bhavan and fed at his expense. There were times when as many as 42 of his kinsfolk were in occupation and the aides had a tough time looking after them.

Once when he was President of the Constituent Assembly he was resting under a tree in the compound of his bungalow in New Delhi. He was clad only in a dhoti, having cast off his kurta because of the heat. A chaprasi from the Assembly came with some confidential papers which were to be delivered only to Prasad. The chaprasi failed to recognize him in his barebodied state and refused to hand the documents to him.

Prasad's relations with other outstanding Congress leaders like Nehru and Pandit G.B. Pant, who was Union Home Minister, were very cordial. Nehru and he had great personal regard for each other, but Nehru was inclined at times to give him less than his due respect as head of state. He often kept Prasad waiting when he was to call on him by appointment at Rashtrapati Bhavan, but this may have been because of pressure of work.

Nehru also had a habit of turning up late at official receptions. Though they never ceased to exhibit their high regard

for each other when they met, the general feeling among the higher staff at Rashtrapati Bhavan was that Nehru treated Prasad as the mere titular head of state.

The President's wife, Mrs Rajbansi Devi, had long been crippled in the lower limbs and was completely bedridden. She was deeply religious, and despite her physical handicap she went daily to Birla Mandir to pray, with ADC 2 to escort her.

The President's personal wants were attended to by Mr. Sita Ram and his Private Secretary (Hindi). It appeared that her views carried weight with the President. She accompanied him on most of his Indian and foreign tours. She was also influential in making last-minute change in official programmes and postings. Even in shaping the President's opinion of people and things her views mattered.

It is said that on one occasion an ADC was brought before Dr Prasad to explain an incident when one of the secretaries was asked to alight from the official car in which Mrs Rajbansi Devi was to drive to Rashtrapati Bhavan from Rajghat. The only explanation the ADC could offer was that he had received orders to this effect from the first lady of India.

It is said that the President's arrival was delayed on account of this Secretary at a state banquet in his honour when he visited Japan. The Secretary, who had accompanied him, had fallen sick. The President, who always cared for his staff, wanted to cancel his engagement. The Military Secretary was distraught when he learnt this and explained to the President that serious damage would be caused to New Delhi's efforts to promote friendly relations with Japan, if the engagement was cancelled. The President thereupon went to the banquet. But he was greatly upset at having to leave the ailing Secretary behind.

Another incident in which a situation was mellowed by the deftness of the Military Secretary was when the President abruptly wanted to cancel his holidaying in Simla. The Military Secretary broached the subject with the President and

prevailed upon him not to cancel the holiday to see the Prime Minister in Delhi. It is said that upon the President's recommendation this Secretary was later appointed as Deputy Secretary in a Central Ministry.

In spite of his poor health Prasad was a stickler for schedule. He woke at 4.45 a.m., had a cup of tea, prayed and set out on a walk in the grounds of Rashtrapati Bhavan at 5.45. After his walk his private staff assembled for instructions. He dictated most of the replies to correspondence, memos and official notes before he attended office at 8 a.m. Exactly at five minutes to eight the senior ADC on duty escorted him to his study on the ground floor. He went by lift down to the ground floor and passed through a long corridor whose ceiling was covered with paintings in tempera by the Curator of Rashtrapati Bhavan, Mr Bose. A portrait of Lord Wavell, executed by a well-known British painter Sir Simon Elvis hung just outside the entrance to the study. It is no longer there, having been removed with other portraits and objects remindful of the colonial past.

The President's study was tastefully decorated with white khadi with handprinted designs, Chinese tapestries and the insignia of battalions of the Indian Army and commissions of the Navy and Air Force. His desk was placed in the far corner of the study. Beside him was a crystal plastic telephone and two radio receivers. He could tune in to the proceedings of the Lok Sabha on one and to the Rajya Sabha on the other.

It was the job of ADC 1 to see that these gadgets were in working order. The telephone in the study hardly ever rang because nobody was expected to ring up the President direct. The only instance on record was when a harassed operator in charge of the Rashtrapati Bhavan switchboard complained to the President about the alleged highhandedness of a telephone inspector.

Dr Prasad received visitors seated in a corner of the big sofa in his study. He seldom rose except when he received foreign dignitaries. Normal appointments lasted five to 10

minutes except when the Prime Minister or the Minister called for talks on affairs of state. The Prime Minister during these appointments would often say to the Minister him to stay. There were standing instructions that Ministers should generally wait in the study until the next time of their appointment.

There were exceptions at times. The Prime Minister the Prime Minister and the Home Minister were allowed to the study as soon as they arrived at the study. The schedule was. On one occasion the Prime Minister was in a situation.

Home Minister P. V. Narayana Murthy was standing in a shrill bell rung by the security guards. The Prime Minister ADC 1 of his arrival. The aide was on a mission to find him struggling with his door. The aide was on a mission to he alighted from his car. He walked down the stairs leading to the study still struggling with the door.

The aide opened the study door and entered. When he did so the President came out of the study and was knotting his dhoti. On seeing the aide, the President asked about the dhoti, they entered the study. The President's aide present, through the aide's assistance, was in the assistance of the VPs.

My first tour assignment was to the President for a visit to Calcutta. The object of the tour was to see Sri Krishna Sinha, Chief Minister of Bihar, who was then and undergoing treatment in a hospital in Calcutta. Sri Padmaja Naidu, Governor of West Bengal, was the President at Dum Dum airport. In view of the importance of the aircraft which brought us from Delhi, the President wanted to know whether Sri Krishna Sinha was at the airport. He spoke in muffled tones in his low, hoarse voice. Sri Krishna was unable to grasp what he said. He asked the aide to repeat her and repeated his question.

She was still unable to follow him. The President looked at me, and I leaned over and covered his mouth. I said

Naidu replied, rather tartly, that she did not know whether any Babu Sinha was there or not.

Later, when the presidential party had arrived at Raj Bhavan, the Deputy Military Secretary called me up and said the Governor was annoyed at my behaviour. She did not like the manner in which I leaned and spoke over to her. The reprimand shook me. I immediately got in touch with her ADC, who explained that she was in a bad mood as her pet cat had been sick for two days.

I accompanied the ADC to the Governor's apartment. She was coming downstairs with the cat in her arms. I bowed and apologized for not being "up to the mark" in my behaviour. She was in a better humour than at the airport, and patting the cat, forgave me saying that I should have kept my distance. As she spoke the cat, whose condition seemed to have improved, purred.

At Rashtrapati Bhavan, the President retired from his study exactly at 1 p.m. for lunch. He often ate in the family lunch room on the second floor. His meal consisted of dal, brinjal and curd, with puris and sometimes rice. Sattu, an extract of barley, was a favourite dish. He ate light on the advice of his doctors.

The unremitting attention of the President's surgeon, Col (later Maj-Gen) S.S. Maitra, was responsible to a large degree for warding off serious complications in his state of chronic ill health. It was a taxing responsibility, and Maitra used to literally count the days for the presidential term to expire.

Just before he was to set out on a tour of the South, Prasad vomited blood. That was on July 19, 1961. On examination he was found to be suffering from stomach ulcer. He was "operated" on at Dr Sen's Nursing Home. Dr Sen, Col Maitra and Col Rao, the President's personal physician, and some other leading doctors of Delhi attended on him. Col Bird, of the Armed Forces Medical College, Poona, was flown to the capital overnight to carry out a blood transfusion. The

Vice-President, Dr Radhakrishnan, took over as acting President on July 25, 1961.

The semi-operation was a delicate one, but the President came through it safely. Two Army nurses attended on him during the month and a half he stayed at the nursing home. For the excellent care they took of him in his illness the doctors and the Military Secretary were later awarded the Padma Bhushan. President's Private Secretary was constantly at his bedside although his family resented this.

Though largely ineffective, because he held an office of little power or influence when there was a strong Prime Minister, Prasad had personal qualities which earned him the respect and even admiration of those who were in close touch with him. Love for truth, simplicity and compassion were his outstanding qualities. He had great sympathy for the downtrodden and those in suffering.

Mostly an invalid during his period of office, he frequently kept company with sadhus and listened as they sang bhajans and recited the Gita. He strictly observed fast days and other Hindu religious customs. He went, despite his poor health, on a yatra to Badrinath and observed all the rituals of dan and dharma.

He had a photographic memory although well advanced in his sixties. He could read a page of a book and repeat it from memory without missing a word or mark of punctuation. He did not act as a signing machine when dealing with appeals for clemency on behalf of persons sentenced to death. A skilled lawyer himself, he studied the legal aspects of each case very thoroughly and satisfied himself that the accused had been provided with proper defence. He frequently called Deputy Home Minister Datar for information about appeals.

Prasad was very fond of his grandchildren. They frequently visited him and addressed him affectionately as Baba. He followed with interest the progress of their studies. In family gatherings he was fond of anecdotes on many subjects. He

was very fond of his sister Buaji. She was a member of his household throughout her life and was its effective ruler. Her death grieved him much.

A true Gandhian in spirit and letter, he spun the charkha daily and prayed in his beautiful, small family temple. He believed in astrology implicitly. His friends exploited this belief to make him believe he would "die in harness." A patriot to the very core, this old freedom fighter was moved to tears while looking at bullet holes in the walls of Jallianwala Bagh in 1961. He addressed a mammoth gathering soon after and roused them to a frenzy of enthusiasm. His Private Secretary remarked afterwards that "it was like the old days."

The President was very fond of Pant, who was constantly ailing like him. They got along extremely well when they were together. Prasad frequently mused aloud, saying that the generation of freedom fighters was dying out. Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, Saif-ud-din Kitchlew were all dead. The few left like himself felt "lonely."

Prasad could be moved to tears by a hard-luck story. His hand would move almost automatically to his pocket to help the victim of adverse circumstances. The bulk of his presidential salary went to the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. He hardly had any money for his own use. At the time of his retirement he requested the Government to release a new car for his personal use without charging him the usual excise duty. The Finance Ministry refused and he had to be content with a second-hand vehicle.

Foreign Visitors

*Much have I travell'd in the realms of gold
And many goodly states and kingdoms seen.
Round many Western islands have I been
Which bards in fealty to Apollo hold.*

The first ever presentation of colours to an infantry battalion took place at Ranikhet in 1961. The unit was the 4 Kumaon, and the presentation was made by the President. The ceremony was combined with the reunion of the Kumaon Regiment.

Gen Thimayya, who had retired from the Army a few months earlier, was present as a former commander of the unit. So was Lt-Gen S.P.P. Thorat, GOC in C, Eastern Command, who had been invited because he had been associated with the Kumaon Regiment in the battle of Kangaw in Burma in the Second World War. Thimayya had commanded the 8/19 Hyderabad and Thorat the 2/2 Punjab in this battle. Lt-Gen L.P. Sen, who had commanded 8 Baluchis in the same encounter with the Japanese, was also a guest at the function. All three had been lieutenant-colonels at the time and were all awarded the Distinguished Service Order.

Thimayya was my ideal of an officer and had been so for many years. After retirement he had taken to agriculture in Mercara, in his native Coorg, and was Deputy Chairman of the All-India Coffee Planters Association.

The reunion of the regiment was celebrated with great pomp. The President retired about midnight, but his aides stayed on. Thorat gave a speech in Thimayya's honour and recounted his memories of Kangaw. He said soldiers were

be curbed, he said, and held up Thimayya as a model for all officers.

The state visit of Queen Elizabeth II of Britain to India in 1961 was memorable in many ways. The last British monarch to visit this country was her grandfather, George V, in 1911. She was the first British ruler to do so after India became independent. She was accompanied by her husband, Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh.

When the Royal Air Force Britannia VC-10 bringing the royal visitors taxied to a halt near the red carpet which had been laid at Palam for them there was a throng of distinguished people waiting to greet them. On the left were members of the Nehru Government and the diplomatic corps. Next were leading citizens of Delhi headed by Mayor Nur-ud-din Ahmed. The general public were in an enclosure cordoned off from the VIPs at the far end of the tarmac. A decorated platform with a battery of microphones had been installed for the formal speech-making on the occasion.

The Queen appeared at the head of the gangway in a shining dress of light blue. She wore a white hat with petals. The Duke followed in a dark blue suit. The President greeted her as she stepped for the first time on Indian soil with a warm handshake. He held on to her hand for a fraction of a second. Nehru, who had met her before at conferences of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London, gave her a friendly smile and asked how the journey had been. Prince Philip seemed rather stiff although he managed to work up a smile.

After the preliminary greetings the Chief of Protocol, Mr M.R.A. Baig, introduced the diplomats. He executed this task smoothly and with grace. It was said that he knew not only the names of all the members of the diplomatic corps but also their histories. Then came the turn of the distinguished citizens. When this was over the Queen mounted the platform and replied to the President's address of welcome. She spoke in a highpitched voice and said she was happy she had fulfilled the long-cherished dream of visiting India.

The Queen and her party then drove in state to Rashtrapati Bhavan. At its gates the President's mounted Bodyguard, numbering 141 and in their ceremonial uniforms, took their place at the head of the motorcade. The President's personal staff had assembled at South Court to greet the royal visitors. They stood in line according to seniority and were introduced first to the Queen, then to Prince Philip and finally to her personal staff headed by the Earl of Scarborough. Among

her staff was an equerry, Capt Peter Harvey of Fusiliers. His father had been Comptroller of the Household at the Vice-regal Lodge before independence.

Lady Rose Baring was the Queen's lady-in-waiting. She was the centre of an embarrassing incident when the Queen was away from Delhi on tour. She had gone to dinner at a friend's place and returned around 1.30 in the morning. She looked in her bag for the key to her room, only to discover it was missing. She had not handed over the key before going out the previous evening to her room attendant as was customary.

I was in bed when I received a call from the armed watchman on duty at South Court informing me that one of the memsahibs who had come with the "Rani" was crying outside her room. The door was opened with a master key and Lady Baring spent the remaining hours till morning in her own room.

The Queen occupied the Dwarka Suite while she was in Delhi, and the Duke the adjoining one. Whether she chose to stay alone out of preference or because of the demands of protocol I cannot tell. The suite has an anteroom, a bedroom, and a bathroom with a large marble bathtub enclosed with glass panels. Showers are attached to aluminium brackets on the panels.

The walls of the main rooms are panelled with Burma teak. The vast double bed in the bedroom is of sandalwood and has a counterpane of red velvet. There are different telephones for internal and overseas calls. While she was in residence the Queen spoke to her children in London every night.

When the suite was being made ready for the Queen, security officers of the Union Government and of the British High Commission had searched the rooms thoroughly for concealed cameras, tape recorders and microphones.

The Queen was very particular about being punctual for her engagements. She was however late once, but the fault was Prince Philip's. There was a cultural entertainment at Ashoka Hotel, and as the time approached for her to set out

from Rashtrapati Bhavan there was no sign of the Prince, who was playing polo.

The Queen kept looking at her wristwatch nervously. Finally, she told the ADC in waiting to make preparations for her to leave. She would not wait any longer for her husband, who was always late, she said. But just as she was entering the car standing in the porch Prince Philip came down the corridor with long, quick strides and joined her.

We members of the personal staff of Rashtrapati Bhavan had several opportunities to observe the Queen closely. What we saw was quite different from her photographs. She was short, barely 5 foot 1 inch, and skinny. The skin under her eyes was wrinkled, and her face was heavily made up whenever she appeared in public. In the lifts, she often glanced at herself in the mirror.

She had a habit of studying her painted fingernails and adjusted her hat frequently. She greeted the crowds which waited outside the main gate of Rashtrapati Bhavan and at other places she visited to glimpse her with a measured wave of her right hand. I got the impression she did not smile or wave her hand more than convention or the needs of courtesy demanded.

Prince Philip was tall and lanky. The hair on his head was scanty. His personality charmed both men and women. He spoke softly and rapidly. I received a large number of letters addressed to him by his female admirers in various parts of the country and passed them on to him.

I recall an incident on January 25, 1961, at an afternoon reception in honour of the Queen and the Duke on the central lawn at Rashtrapati Bhavan. When the royal couple and their entourage arrived on the lawn the Queen veered to the right and the Duke to the left so that they could meet all the guests. I was attached to the Duke that day. After completing a round of the lawn he stood talking to a mixed group. He asked a major from Army Headquarters why there was barbed

wire round the headquarters, to keep him in or to keep others out. The major replied: "It is for both, sir."

While the major was replying the Duke's attention was drawn to a young woman at a distance dressed in gay, eyecatching colours. He went straight to her and asked her name. The excited guest replied, as though she had prepared for such an encounter: "Oh, your Royal Highness, I have been a fan of yours from childhood. I have collected every picture of yours that has appeared in the papers. I have also written to you several times, but you have not replied. You fascinated me when you came two years ago to attend the International Science Convention. I was in Patuala and my sister was getting married, so I had no opportunity to see you. Today is a red-letter day in my life."

The woman paused for breath at this point. Before she could get started again the Duke looked at her steadily and with all the charm at his command took both her hands firmly in his and said: "My dear beautiful young lady, how do you feel now?"

The Queen interrupted her visit to India to go to Pakistan and Nepal. The Indian newspapers published reports of her statements praising Pakistan's Basic Democracy, which we in India regarded as nothing more than a figleaf for military dictatorship. Her statements were not relished here and gave rise to controversy in Government circles.

The Prime Minister was once overheard telling the President this fulsome praise for a thinly veiled dictatorship was childish. It is difficult to tell whether an incident which occurred at Palam on the Queen's return from Pakistan was deliberate or accidental. I had gone to the airport as the representative of the President. Her aircraft arrived at 9.30 a.m. on February 16 and halted at the VIP enclosure. Nehru was there talking with the British High Commissioner, Sir Paul Gore Booth, who was hard of hearing, and Lady Booth.

The hatch of the plane opened and the gangway was wheeled

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President was writing his autobiography and added, turning to the Queen: "After your Majesty's visit is over the President is adding another chapter to his autobiography."

"Really?" asked the Queen quickly, looking at the President and obviously grateful for this switch in the topic of conversation. "Yes," replied the President, "I have been able to write some chapters already."

"How many have you written?" the Duke asked.

"About 1,200 pages," the President said.

"Oh, where did you get all that time?" the Queen interjected.

Once again, quietly, the President said: "Your Majesty, I have been writing for a very long time. Don't forget I was in your father's jails for 16 years. There was plenty of time to write in jail."

The silence that followed was deadly. The listeners were struck dumb. Their minds were numbed. Nobody could think of anything to say this time to relieve the shock this unexpected, and therefore all the more devastating, remark had caused. Mrs Pandit, who had also spent many years in detention like her brother the Prime Minister, was a study in facial expression. She looked at me, then at Baig, and finally out of the study window into the garden.

Baig fumbled for a conversational gambit after the initial shock was over and picked on the "fine weather" Delhi was experiencing at the time. The President, however, was of asthmatic constitution and after a few minutes of coughing and wheezing, he turned to the Queen and said: "I must go now. I have to see the President a hurried goodbye and strode out of the study accompanied by Mrs Pandit, with the Duke following a few feet behind.

The President gave a state banquet in honour of the Queen. Protocol demanded that he call on her with his senior staff in her suite 15 minutes before it started at 8.30 p.m. The Queen and the President, escorted by ADC 1 and ADC 4 and other officials, then proceeded from the Dwarka Suite

up to it. The Queen appeared in the doorway. Nehru, with his back to the plane, continued to hold Booth and his wife in talk. The air crew alighted and lined up at the foot of the gangway. Booth kept looking nervously over Nehru's shoulder at the Queen, who was standing still in the doorway.

Nehru continued to talk, apparently completely oblivious of the embarrassment he was causing. I should have received the Queen on the President's behalf if Nehru had not been present. To save the situation, I went close to him and said in a low voice: "Sir, the Queen is waiting." Nehru swung round, looked me straight in the face and said: "What am I supposed to do then?" I replied: "Please receive her." He hesitated a moment. Then, putting on his most fascinating smile, he walked to the foot of the gangway and received the Queen, who was already on the last step. The tension was over and everybody, including Booth, who was sweating profusely, relaxed.

On March 1, on the eve of the Queen's departure from India, the President presented her with a sandalwood carving, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft, with gold and ivory inlay. It depicted a scene from the Mahabharata, Lord Krishna imploring Arjuna to perform his duty on the battlefield. The gift was costly and beautiful, an example of the skill of Indian craftsmen. The Queen was delighted and asked many questions about the Bhagvad Gita.

Before they left, Prince Philip and she presented the President with a silver inkstand with their autographs. The presentation took place in the President's study. Besides the three of them, Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Mr Baig, the Military Secretary and I were present. The Queen appeared to be embarrassed at her small and common gift compared with that she had received, which stood in the study. The President, seeing her discomfort, remarked in his quiet, dignified manner that "it is only the feeling of friendliness that is important, not the size of a gift." Baig intervened at this point to introduce a new topic. He mentioned that the

bedroom was specially decorated with Indian materials and motifs for her. Sandalwood divans, raw silk curtains with batik paintings, handloom bedspreads and other handicrafts, all in the best taste, were there to impress the American First Lady.

Mrs Kennedy and Princess Radziwill landed at Palam airport in the small hours of the morning. They were to call on the President at 11 a.m. the same day. Earlier, Mrs Kennedy watched the President address a joint session of both Houses of Parliament at the Central Hall. She then drove with her sister to North Court. The President received them in the Morning Room, which opened on to the Moghul Gardens, in full bloom.

The President sat with Mrs Kennedy on his right and the Princess on his left. On Mrs Kennedy's right was Mr R.K. Nehru, our Ambassador in Washington. The President appeared to be in some doubt about the identity of the two visitors. He had heard that Mrs Kennedy was very beautiful and charming, but so was Princess Radziwill. The President, after some silent thinking, seemed to have come to the conclusion that the Princess was Mrs Kennedy. He directed most of his conversation towards her. This embarrassed Mrs Kennedy and Nehru. To clear the misunderstanding an aide pointed to Mrs Kennedy and remarked that she had been to Parliament House before coming to Rashtrapati Bhavan to pay her respects to the President. This well-meaning attempt to clear the cobwebs of misunderstanding failed. The President turned to Princess Radziwill and inquired how she had liked the proceedings.

The President decided to present two autographed pictures of himself to Mrs Kennedy. I was deputed to deliver them to her before she left New Delhi. I went over to the Prime Minister's House with them and she received me with a kindly smile and friendly words of welcome. She removed the wrappings of the gift with the excited curiosity of a child. The silver-framed photographs thrilled her. As I watched

along the corridor that led to the Ashoka Hall, where all the guests awaited them standing in a hollow square. The royal guest and her host halted under the nearest canopy in front of poet Nizami's portrait. Jana Gana Mana was played and the guests were presented to the Queen.

Before setting out from the Dwarka Suite the Queen expressed admiration for the paintings that adorned the walls of Rashtrapati Bhavan. Turning to a General, who was present, she remarked that he must have seen many paintings in Europe when he was there. After a pause she asked: "Have you seen the Mona Lisa?" The general knowledge of the gentleman to whom she put this query was not something to be proud of. He was aware of this shortcoming, and used to confess that he was "only a general with no knowledge." He had apparently never heard of Mona Lisa before the Queen had mentioned it and he glanced at those standing on either side for a hint of what the Queen was talking about. Somebody spoke and the General caught the word "lady." He promptly turned back to the Queen and said: "She was a very nice lady, your Majesty, and she gave a wonderful performance in London." The Queen was photographed immediately after this, and the picture which resulted was I believe one of the best ever taken of her.

Mrs Jacqueline Kennedy, wife of the American President, came to India on a nine-day visit on March 12, 1962. She was accompanied by her sister, Princess Radziwill. We of the Rashtrapati Bhavan staff had heard much about her charm and how Khrushchev had mellowed under her spell at his first meeting with her husband in Vienna. President Kennedy was considered a good friend of India, and for that reason Mrs Kennedy's visit was looked forward to with great enthusiasm. People spoke of her as the "American Rani."

Nehru, who was fond of the company of good-looking women, had taken a great liking to her and she was invited to stay in the Prime Minister's House on Teen Murti Marg. A

their suite.

The Johnsons were apparently snatching a little rest before getting ready to attend a reception in their honour that evening. They came out to meet their unexpected visitors in casual wear. Mrs Johnson was in a dressing gown, slightly frayed at the edges, and had her hair in curlers. The Vice-President was in shirt and trousers. The grandchildren were headed by Tara, the oldest unmarried granddaughter of the President and an exceptionally intelligent girl.

A senior officer of the President's staff accompanied them. He was famous for dropping bricks in the course of conversation. After the preliminary introductions there was silence on both sides. The children were tongue-tied, having nothing in fact to say to the visitors. The Johnsons on their part were evidently anxious to get back and rest.

To break the ice the ADC present said: "Mrs Johnson, it must have been a great day for you when Commander Alan Shepherd made his first space loop and came down." Here was a topic of national pride to these Americans, especially since the Russians had scored a lead over them in the space race by sending Yuri Gagarin round the earth and bringing him down safely.

Mrs Johnson replied vivaciously: "Oh, yes, it was a red letter day for us. We kept our eyes glued to the television. Of course Lyndon was there at the site." Her face glowed with pleasure as she went on talking in the same strain for three or four minutes, with smiling nods of approval from LBJ.

When she had said her piece, the General felt it was his turn to speak. His wife, who was present, apprehended danger and tried to restrain him by tugging surreptitiously at his trousers. But the General was not to be stopped. He had heard the ADC mention the word "loop" and he thought the reference was to Lipkes loop, the American device which was at that time being publicized widely as the answer to India's population problem.

her reactions I gathered the impression that she had a simple, almost childlike, outlook on life.

I took the opportunity to study Mrs Kennedy's face carefully. It was triangular in shape, with eyes unusually far apart. She was taller than the average Indian woman and her body had an athletic suppleness. Yet she was very feminine, particularly in her manner of speaking. She spoke in a soft, low voice which turned husky when it struck a low note. She gave her hearers the feeling that she was whispering to them out of a dream. She was indeed a very captivating person.

I sketched her face roughly as I sat with her and painted her portrait in oils when I returned to Rashtrapati Bhavan, my mission completed. I presented the painting to her at a reception at the United States Embassy the following day. She received me in a special room for the presentation. I am not sure whether my effort did her justice, but she seemed to like it and said the resemblance was remarkable. She said something about hanging it in President Kennedy's bedroom or study. I was informed later that she took it back with her to the White House.

Mrs Kennedy was a skilled horsewoman, and during her stay in Delhi devoted a part of her morning to various equestrian exercises. There was quite a laugh and some amused comments in the local press when her dashing Indian escort came a cropper in negotiating an obstacle on horseback. On the rest of her tour she often inquired about him.

On May 18, 1961, Vice-President Lyndon Johnson and his wife Lady Bird stopped over in Delhi for a day in the course of a world tour. Mr Johnson was received with the full honours accorded only to a head of state. His wife and he were accommodated in the Dwarka Suite. They had a tight schedule of official events, but despite this the President's grandchildren, numbering around 11 and ranging in age from 14 to 21 years, insisted on being presented to the visitors in

their suite.

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WITH TWO PRESIDENTS

The General therefore said solemnly: "Yes, Mrs Johnson. I believe it has proved very effective in America." What did you say, Colonel?" She asked with a puzzled look. She addressed him as Colonel because the American President's personal staff have that rank. Mr Johnson flushed uncomfortably and looked at the General as though to apologize for his wife's gaffe. "General, not Colonel," he corrected her quietly. Lady Bird said: "I'm sorry. What did you say, General?" The General's wife shuffled her feet and sighed resignedly. Now it came with a bang. The General said in a voice that carried to all parts of the room: "I said that it has proved very effective in America and now your population has gone down."

Mr and Mrs Johnson looked uncomfortable. After this further conversation was impossible. It was time to put an end to the impromptu meeting. They excused themselves, saying they were very tired and had a long journey ahead. Then they hurriedly withdrew into their bedroom.

Goa and other Incidents

*Eternal spirit of the chainless mind,
Brightest in dungeons, Liberty thou art—
For there thy habitation is the heart—
The heart that love of thee alone can bind.*

The winter of 1961 was a busy time at Rashtrapati Bhavan. Foreign heads of state and other dignitaries from overseas were arriving in quick succession and all our attention was focused on them. Meanwhile, things were happening in the country. The early weeks of December saw military preparations under way to liberate Goa and its associated territories from 451 years of Portuguese colonialism.

The plan of attack was drawn up at Army Headquarters in New Delhi and orders went out to the Southern Command somewhere near Belgaum, a few miles from the Goa border. The imminence of military action caused a flurry in diplomatic circles throughout the world. Prime Minister Nehru received messages advising him to desist from armed action from nearly all the heads of government in the Western hemisphere. Only two months earlier, U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles had released a communique in Washington jointly with Portuguese Prime Minister Dr Salazar affirming that Goa was a province of Portugal.

New Delhi had set December 15 as D-Day. The railways had arranged for military specials to move to the Goa border uninterrupted. Seen from Rashtrapati Bhavan, the preparations New Delhi was making gave the impression that Goa was getting ready to invade India. Gen Kaul was the brain behind these massive preparations, and they caused not inconsiderable amusement as our information was that the Portuguese forces in Goa were only a brigade strong. Col Iqbal, Military Attache of the Pakistan High Commission, jokingly asked an ADC why he had not gone to Goa. Troop movements in West Pakistan along the Indian border and Pakistani air activity over the "pimples" of Daman and Diu in Gujarat had aroused fears in Delhi that Pakistan might intervene militarily when the Indian action to throw the Portuguese out was launched.

We learnt that D-Day had been postponed from December 15 to 18. News of the postponement leaked out from certain embassies in New Delhi. Later, after the action was over

and Goa freed, it was learnt that even the Portuguese Governor-General in Panjim was aware that December 15 was the chosen day. The *Evening News* of December 17 gave no hint that *Operation Vijay*, as the "police action" was officially called, was coming the next day. It reported, however, that Nehru had written to President Eisenhower of the USA saying India could no longer stay its hand as the Portuguese atrocities in Goa—an integral part of India—were becoming intolerable.

There was an undercurrent of tension in Rashtrapati Bhavan as we had been reliably informed that the Army would march into Goa any time. Excitement mounted high when Nehru called on the President at 11.10 p.m. We came to know later that the President, Supreme Commander of the armed forces, had been told about the start of the operations two hours after their actual commencement. At a diplomatic function at Rashtrapati Bhavan a day or two later a foreigner asked what Gen Kaul was doing at the front. "I, a battalion commander, would refuse to have a senior commander with the rank of a general mucking about the front line," said the Military Attache of a Muslim country.

This was indeed a ridiculous situation militarily. It was to be repeated under graver circumstances in 1962. Brig (now Maj-Gen) Navin Rawley was the sufferer in this instance. He was conducting operations as head of the 11 Brigade in the Walong sector in the Lohit Frontier Division of NEFA when Gen Kaul, the corps commander, who had once commanded the brigade, kept moving about the front line and getting in Rawley's hair.

If the Goa operation proved anything it was how poorly India's military secrets are kept in New Delhi. Most diplomatic missions knew of India's intentions well in advance and they were also well posted about the actual happenings in the action against the Portuguese. It was even said at that time that the Indian Army's operational plan was in the hands of the Portuguese authorities in Goa long before the attack started.

Goa fell in two days with the capture of the Governor-General. Maj-Gen K.P. Candeth, Commander of the 17 Division, accepted his surrender and was appointed Military Administrator of Goa, Daman and Diu. The President's grandchildren were jubilant at the news, and so was the President. But the military officers on his staff did not feel the same way. There was no sense of achievement, for the Portuguese were not foemen worthy of our steel. It was said that nobody runs away from a bullet faster than a Portuguese. Their troops in Goa were ill-equipped and had not prepared for a planned withdrawal in the event of an Indian attack beyond blowing up bridges spanning streams between the Indian border and the capital Panjim. Col Iqbal of the Pakistan High Commission said a brigade conducting a well-planned withdrawal operation would have delayed the attacking Indian forces at least 10 days. Meanwhile, the United Nations Security Council would have come to Portugal's rescue and forced a ceasefire.

This may very well have been true. We overheard remarks at diplomatic parties to the effect that Nehru's image as an apostle of world peace had been shattered. It was also said that India had never solved any border dispute without a war. New Delhi had always resorted to arms when the logic of facts went against it. Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh earlier, and now Goa, were cited as examples. Foreigners also asserted that India would resort to arms against China to settle our border disputes with that country.

We made so much noise about the Goa operation when, militarily speaking, it was such a trivial affair. And in the United Nations our representative, Mr C.S. Jha, was blissfully ignorant of what was going on. The Government publicity machinery had failed to build up a favourable climate of opinion among the American intelligentsia, who were completely in the dark about the reason for the action. The Military Adviser to the Indian Embassy in Washington was called up early in the morning by the Ambassador to find out

what the Army was up to in Goa. Without any advance briefing from New Delhi the entire mission cut a sorry figure, and this too when special efforts should have been made to prepare it for what was coming in view of the Dulles-Salazar agreement a few weeks earlier.

There were few casualties in the operation, but I lost a good friend in Maj Sehgal. Out of sheer bravado he is said to have driven into a fort without protective elements and demanded that the commander of the garrison, a captain, surrender. The captain not only took him captive but shot him in cold blood.

At this point I shall recount an incident that occurred when the President was convalescing after his operation for stomach ulcer. He had been advised complete rest, and to relieve the boredom of his enforced inactivity religious films and dance and musical recitals were arranged for him at Rashtrapati Bhavan.

One day the President's Private Secretary called up ADC 1, who was on duty with the President, and told him that Ustad Bismillah Khan would perform on the shehnai before him at 4.30 that afternoon. ADC 1 promptly informed the President, who was greatly pleased that this maestro of North Indian instrumental music was going to entertain him. Mattresses and pillows for the President to recline on were assembled in the Fountain Loggia near the Ashoka Hall and a place for the musician was prepared in front of it. The Loggia's acoustics are particularly suited to the performance of instrumental music.

The Rashtrapati Bhavan clocks showed 4.15 p.m., but there was no sign of the Ustad. The worried ADC phoned the Private Secretary to find out if the performance was on or had been cancelled. She assured him it was on, and no sooner had he put down the receiver than a group of bare-bodied men carrying earthen pitchers materialized before his astonished eyes. But there was no sign of Bismillah Khan

many times.

In the middle of the spring was a quarrel between me and John who then the same with which he afterwards quarrelled was renewed: I went down. He said he had an appointment with the President in Washington. The ADC Campbell desired that an appointment with the President should be made in the time. The answer which was made there was that assistance as he had expressed in the country could be made. He said he was down as the President knew of the South and the appointment was made for him.

The President had to be informed of the matter, which was the first of the Spring Session. He should have made several inquiries from the members of the Government, but he was known to be unusually kind in such matters. When the meeting was over he said that Campbell the distinguished representative for the ADC had the impression that of going to the President and applying for the matter. The President accepted the application graciously and consented to have the matter done from the South.

Meanwhile the matter had its part had several interviews in a small circle among the members which had been proposed for the President. He was not satisfied in that connection to the fact which he considered himself completely with a desire to carry him up. The matter grew more when the President came to that took the place on the stage and on the other again that he had decided upon.

I felt that the Government the chief position held in his hands which I knew that was a disadvantage was no more to the President. He put it to his feet and drew a line directly in the President, who remained as if he had been struck. As the volume of the work which followed seemed I saw the President shrinking under and coming back. I was afraid the position he was occupying would bring on a state of affairs not desirable on either side. I went up to the President, who was speaking with his eyes fixed, and explained the matter from his feet.

The player opened his eyes and stared aghast at me. Here he was trying to entertain the President as a mark of respect and I had rudely silenced him. I could see he was deeply hurt, but I had no alternative as in his weak condition the results could have been serious for the President. Quickly we put him back on the wheel-chair and took him to his bed-chamber. The presidential surgeon was immediately summoned, and Prasad told him that the "timely action of the ADC saved my life." Scarcely had I got back to my office when the maestro presented himself and asked for a certificate from the President expressing his appreciation of the recital.

President Arturo Frondizi of Argentina paid a state visit to India in the winter of 1961. He arrived in Delhi on December 4. Dr Prasad was convalescing after his illness and the acting President, Dr Radhakrishnan, received him at Palam. After the usual ritual of welcome they drove in state to Rashtrapati Bhavan through Connaught Place. I shared the front seat of the car in which Frondizi, his wife and Radhakrishnan travelled with the naval ADC of the Argentine President. Through an interpreter Frondizi asked Radhakrishnan whether the Indian rules for granting political asylum to outsiders were strict. Radhakrishnan said each case would be judged on its merit.

The Frondizis were a charming couple, and they treated the Indian aides-de-camp attached to them with consideration and kindness. Mrs Frondizi told me her daughter planned to visit India, her dreamland, in a month or so, and she was sure she would be looked after here as in her own home. Miss Frondizi arrived in Delhi a few weeks later and proved as charming as her parents. But at the same time ill fortune overtook her father in Buenos Aires. President Frondizi was called upon to resign by the president of the National Assembly with the help of the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of Argentina. He was suspected of sympathizing with his predecessor in office, President Juan Peron, then

in exile, and the outlawed Peronists.

Frondizi refused to quit. In a message to the Argentina nation broadcast at night he said he was the constitutional head of state and could be removed only by constitutional means. The same night the guards of the presidential palace were withdrawn and the same ADC who had accompanied Frondizi to India was ordered to arrest him. The ADC did his duty, and the deposed President was flown to a secret island to join four of his predecessors, including Peron, in exile.

When the news of her father's downfall was broadcast by All India Radio Miss Frondizi was lunching with us at Rashtrapati Bhavan. She broke down in tears. As I watched her I was reminded of a story a liaison officer of our Ministry of External Affairs had told me. According to him a newspaper in a South American republic once carried this advertisement: "Wanted a food taster excellent pay residence free education children and state burial."

Dr Prasad was anxious to visit America while he was President. But this wish did not materialize, partly on account of his illness and partly for political reasons. Even after he retired he made an attempt to fulfil this desire, but death struck him down before he could get a firm invitation.



Second to None

*To be noble is good, but to preach to others to
be good is nobler and less trouble.*

One of the unforgettable memories I cherish of Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan's term as President was his receiving a memorandum at one of his evening durbars, when he entertained complaints from citizens, from an avowed terrorist on whose head the Indian Government had fixed a price. The wanted man was evading arrest and had lived underground for nearly two decades.

Radhakrishnan was not a politician. He was a savant whose published works had earned him universal recognition as a philosopher deeply versed in Indian culture. In this he was markedly different from another South Indian who held a position of the highest eminence in free India. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, who might have been the first President of India, was both a scholar and politician.

In the last days of the British Raj Radhakrishnan was inconspicuous politically. He was not even bracketed with such colourless leaders of little mass influence as Tej Bahadur Sapru and M.R. Jayakar. He was known as an educationist and an interpreter of the ancient Hindu philosophers. He was, however, honoured among intellectuals in India and abroad who set a high price on scholarship. He was an Oxford don and accepted a knighthood from the King of Britain which he discarded when other Indians also shed their British titles.

Radhakrishnan played no role in the struggle for freedom. He watched it from far beyond India's shores, and if it roused any feelings of nationalism in him he did not exhibit them openly. There is nothing in his writings at that time to show what he thought of the movement for freedom which had burgeoned under Gandhi's leadership. Both as teacher and writer he kept his distance from the political turmoil in India in the period between the two world wars which culminated in independence in 1947. He expounded the shastras of the ancients for the benefit of the scholarly while Gandhi expounded for the benefit of ordinary Indians the strategy and tactics of the nonviolent struggle for freedom from colonial rule.

Radhakrishnan's political career, first as Vice-President from 1952 to 1962 and then as President from 1962 to 1967, was the handiwork of Nehru. Since in his view these offices were not politically important under the Indian Constitution which came into force in January 1950, he felt they could be most suitably filled by one who was far removed from politics and had attained renown in intellectual fields.

Radhakrishnan was a great orator in English. He held audiences spellbound. Every sentence he uttered was worthy of quotation. When Anthony Eden visited India as Prime Minister of Britain in the mid-1950's he was invited to address a joint session of the Houses of Parliament. He described later in his memoirs how his task was made more formidable by the enchantingly phrased introductory speech of Radhakrishnan, who as Vice-President was also Chairman of the Rajya Sabha. Eden wrote: "I felt like a little boy stumbling across a ploughed field after a leveret has shown its swiftly light paces."

Radhakrishnan was free India's first Ambassador to Moscow. He prided himself in attending state banquets and receptions in dhoti and achkan, with or without turban. He would eat none of the food that was served. Sometimes in the middle of a banquet he would get up, excuse himself to his hosts and leave. The Russians gradually accepted this unorthodox behaviour going against the rules of protocol, putting it down to philosophical eccentricity.

Once when I was accompanying him back to Rashtrapati Bhavan by car from a reception in Delhi Cantonment he gave me a detailed description of an interview he had with Stalin. He was the first foreign emissary accredited to the Soviet Government whose request for an interview with him was granted. After all the intricacies of diplomatic red tape had been overcome and the time of the interview had been fixed Radhakrishnan drove to the Kremlin. He was received by the Chief of Protocol of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This official conducted him through a maze of

corridors to Stalin's office.

Radhakrishnan described Stalin as a handsome man with a long mustache. The first question Radhakrishnan put to him was: "Mr Chairman, sir, why is it difficult to meet you?" When this was translated into Russian Stalin smiled and replied: "Is it difficult to meet me? You're meeting me now." With this the atmosphere in the room eased and they settled down to talk about political affairs. Radhakrishnan told me that at one point in their conversation he found an excuse to put his fingers in Stalin's hair and ruffle it. The interview lasted a record three hours. It created a diplomatic sensation in Moscow and other world capitals.

Radhakrishnan had a colourful personality. Intellectually, I think, Prasad was his equal, but while Prasad was shy and reserved Radhakrishnan was an extrovert and liked the sound of his own voice. One could, however, hardly blame him for that, for he was a fascinating conversationalist. He relished flattery, but who doesn't? If Prasad, whom Radhakrishnan described as the symbol of peasant India, was old wine, his successor was bubbling champagne, laced with acid wit. He was fair and ruddy-complexioned and meticulous about his dress. His achkan was well-tailored and his white turban immaculate. For one who was over 70 his activity was extraordinary, mentally and physically.

When Radhakrishnan took over as second President of India on May 13, 1962, he conferred the Bharat Ratna, India's highest civilian award, on the retiring head of state amidst loud applause at a joint session of the Houses of Parliament. Two days later Prasad quit Rashtrapati Bhavan for good and travelled in the special presidential train to Patna. The new President saw him off ceremoniously on the special presidential platform at New Delhi railway station. He also detailed some members of his personal staff to escort the ex-President to Sadaqat Ashram, where he had decided to spend his retirement.

After Dr Prasad's departure it was discovered that some of the

gifts he had received from foreign dignitaries were missing. According to protocol, these were gifts to the President as head of state and not as an individual and should have been kept at Rashtrapati Bhavan as the property of the presidential estate and ultimately of the nation. What happened to these gifts? Some are said to have remained in Delhi in the possession of a member of his personal staff.

Radhakrishnan was greatly influenced in his thinking on affairs of state by Rajagopalachari. CR indeed moulded Radhakrishnan politically. Whenever the new President visited Madras he unfailingly called on CR at his home and paid his respects to him. As far back as 1942 CR had said partition of India was an inseparable condition of independence. He had advised Gandhi to accept this conclusion, but the advice was spurned and from that date CR was *persona non grata* to most of the Congress leaders. This is why they opposed Nehru when he wanted CR to become the republic's first President. CR differed from Nehru later on the creation of linguistic states, seeing in this step the seeds of national disintegration.

I recall CR as short and thin, almost emaciated, wisened with age but very agile. The President and he would huddle together in a small private room in CR's house in Kilpauk and talk for hours on end. CR's opposition to Nehru's policies at home and in international affairs was well known, for he made no attempt to hide it.

President Radhakrishnan's tenure as Indian Ambassador to the Soviet Union, his admiration for that country's economic and social achievements, his stay in Britain and personal knowledge of the USA all helped in creating a balanced relationship between India and these countries. Whenever he expressed an opinion on India's foreign policy it was neither pro-Soviet nor pro-West. But he seemed to feel that India's prosperity lay in aligning itself with the West. Probably the influence of CR, who was outspokenly pro-West, was at work here.

Perhaps conscious that he lacked a political image in the eyes of the Indian public and to remedy this defect Radhakrishnan announced, immediately after taking office on May 13, 1962, a cut in his salary from Rs 10,000 to Rs 3,000. (Incidentally, Prasad drew only Rs. 2,500 a month throughout his two terms.) The rest of Radhakrishnan's salary went to the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. At the same time he announced that he would receive in person oral and written complaints from citizens every day at 5 p.m. Certain Government quarters viewed these efforts of the philosopher President to come down from his ivory tower and establish direct contact with the "masses" with scepticism. Nehru often used to ask him, not without a tinge of irony, how his daily durbars were going.

The frequency of these encounters were reduced after some time to twice a week. People who wished to see the President were lined up on the East Lawn or the Central Lawn in the following order: those who came merely for the President's darshan; down-and-outs who wanted money or other form of material help; poor students seeking scholarships to pursue their studies; petitioners in all walks of life mainly seeking redressal of wrongs. Occasionally there was an appeal from a wife begging for divorce from a cruel or unfaithful husband or one from the relatives of a criminal under sentence of death or long imprisonment asking the President to exercise his power of clemency.

At first the number of daily callers was about 2,000. But as people began to realize that the durbar was not very effective in getting them what they sought the callers dropped to a mere 60 or 70. A petitions committee was set up at Rashtrapati Bhavan with an ADC in charge of collecting the documents detailing grievances. These were sent to the authorities concerned through the office of the Secretary to the President. These authorities took their own time to look into them. I believe that effective action was taken in rare instances, but in most of them the upshot was adverse to the petitioners

because the departments concerned resented these appeals to the President. To have been really effective, it was not enough for Rashtrapati Bhavan to act as a post-office for transmitting the complaints. Machinery should have been set up to investigate the complaints and ensure speedy action where this was justified.

Needy students fared somewhat better. The President was able to use his personal influence to get some of them private scholarships to continue their work abroad or grants to do so in India.

Whether the petitions were dealt with satisfactorily or not, this experiment brought out the inadequacies of the administration and the judicial system and the high-handedness of certain ministries. We never received two petitions from the same source in Punjab. Chief Minister Pratap Singh Kairon saw to it that this "nonsense" stopped. It was said that he once summoned to his presence certain petitioners and gave them a piece of his mind. Their grievances immediately vanished.

The mercy petitions from the relatives of condemned men lying in jails in all parts of the country were pathetic, and sometimes also made sensational reading. The President never took a decision on his own on these appeals. He accepted the recommendation of the Union Home Ministry after the Supreme Court had turned down a judicial appeal. There was only one exception, when he commuted a death sentence to life imprisonment on his own. It was heartrending to listen to the wailing of the womenfolk and children of a man whose death on the gallows or prolonged incarceration would take away their only breadwinner. The President was depressed for days after rejecting an appeal for clemency. Among the notable appeals he rejected was that of Cdr Nanavati of the Indian Navy who was sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder of a Bombay businessman in 1959.

*Brezhnev's Visit—
Before and After*

*That Caravan of Rockets
Will speed us from star to star.
On the Milky Way
To faraway planets
Our traces will be ablaze.*

Dr Radhakrishnan received Yuri Gagarin, the first man to hustle through space, when he visited India. At the time of the Russian's visit he was acting for Prasad, who was ill. Gagarin called at No 2 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Road, the official residence of the Vice-President, with his wife. He walked briskly to shake hands with Radhakrishnan. This short, stocky man with a baby smile looked like any young officer of the Indian armed forces. He was only 26 when chosen to make the first epochal flight into outer space.

Mrs Gagarin was very simply dressed in a typical Indian *jurah*. She looked like any lovely Indian housewife. The couple were accompanied by the Soviet Ambassador, Benediktov, the Soviet Air Attache in New Delhi and an interpreter. Gagarin described in simple terms for Radhakrishnan's benefit what it was like to travel into space. He said he felt there was a hollow in the pit of his stomach when he was shot into the outer atmosphere by rocket. The flight itself was like travelling in an ordinary airplane until he attained the state of weightlessness, an altogether unique experience. He said he had originally been scheduled to make two orbits round the earth, but the control station ordered him back to the earth after the first orbit and he landed with the help of a parachute.

Gagarin said little about the technicalities of space travel, and even what he said about his personal experiences on the trip was scanty. He did not say where the space station from which he took off was or which scientists had played an important part in making the flight possible. His feat was the result of a collective effort of the Russian people inspired by the ideals of Lenin, he declared. He later went to Rashtrapati Bhavan and paid his respects to the ailing President and met his family.

As I looked at Gagarin on these visits I thought that here was a man who would go down in world history as the pioneer of space flight. He had not only immortalized himself but had also brought lustre to his nation. I remembered Churchill's remark that we are all small men trying to do great

deeds, but here was a man small in physique who yet had attained a giant's stature in history. One did not have to be imposing physically to make history. Only deeds counted.

Some years later, Lal Bahadur Shastri, called "little sparrow," made history in a different way. I also recalled what one of Mrs Kennedy's aides had told me. He said Gagarin was not the first man in space. That honour belonged to another Russian, who, the American asserted, was still orbiting as the craft in which he went up could not be retrieved. According to one version of this story I heard, the unfortunate space traveller was the son of the well-known aircraft designer Ilyushin.

Radhakrishnan's tenure as officiating and installed President was marked by the state visits of many heads of state. Among them were President Brezhnev of the Soviet Union, the King of Laos, the Pertuan of Malaysia, the King of Greece, President Luebke of the Federal German Republic, the Presidents of Bulgaria, Lebanon, Mexico, Poland and Rumania, President Tito of Yugoslavia and Archbishop Makarios of Cyprus.

Other distinguished visitors included Prime Minister Tunku Abdul Rehman of Malaysia, Prime Minister Ikeda of Japan, Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Ceylon, Wg Cdr Ali Sabry of the United Arab Republic, Prime Minister Michel Debre of France and Prime Minister Diefenbaker of Canada, Earl Attlee, British Commonwealth Secretary Duncan Sandys and Pakistan's Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Brezhnev's visit was of particular interest to me. My impressions of the Soviet Union and its peoples were derived from paintings of scenes of the Russian Revolution of 1917 I had seen in exhibitions or from films. The dominant colour of these scenes was red, and they showed fighting types, strikingly tough. Brezhnev and his party were, on the other hand, sober, self-controlled and cultured. Brezhnev himself was stocky, handsome and bushy-eyebrowed, with a glint of

humour in his eyes.

The welcome the visitors received at Palam airport was very warm. The two Presidents travelled to Rashtrapati Bhavan in an open car. Brezhnev repeatedly referred to the very friendly welcome he had received. They kept standing to acknowledge the cheers of the large crowds which lined the drive from the airport, but after a while Radhakrishnan tired and sat down. Brezhnev continued to stand and look at the faces in the crowd. He remarked on the pretty face of a girl, and after the car had driven past her he turned back and kept looking at her.

As soon as they reached Rashtrapati Bhavan the two Presidents sat down to coffee in the Morning Room. After a few pleasantries Brezhnev remarked through an interpreter: "Mr President, you have been an Ambassador in Russia and you said you liked the country. Why have you not come again in spite of the many invitations extended to you?"

Radhakrishnan replied: "I am sorry. I have been too busy. You know after I left Russia my wife expired and therefore I have not been able to come."

Brezhnev: "But it is quite some time, and now you have time I am sure we shall not have to reprimand you for not coping with our invitation." Perhaps the interpreter had translated Brezhnev wrongly, but the word "reprimand" seemed to nettle Radhakrishnan. Contracting his eyebrows and with a hint of tartness in his voice, he replied: "I will come to Russia only when I am sick. You have nice hospitals there." There was perhaps no further talk about a visit to Russia on the rest of Brezhnev's stay in New Delhi.

While driving from the airport Brezhnev expressed surprise at the kind of justice meted out in the United States. He was referring to the case of Carl Chessman, who had fought a legal battle over 12 years to get the repeal of a death sentence passed on him for trespass, rape and murder when he was 19. In jail Chessman had studied law and qualified to practise, written four novels and had argued his own case for remittance

of his sentence. Chessman failed in his bid and went to the gas chamber at Sing Sing.

Brezhnev remarked that "justice in America does not take a correct course." Radhakrishnan said, "I don't know," and then went on to narrate a story. A district commissar once visited a village school and asked a student who had written *Anna Karenina*. The student timidly replied that he had not done so. The commissar then asked the rest of the class the same question, and on not getting an answer went away with a poor impression of the school. The headmaster thought he should correct this impression. Accordingly he wrote to the commissar a week later saying: "The student voluntarily confesses that he wrote *Anna Karenina*." Radhakrishnan ended: "I do not know where justice takes a correct course."

Jacob Malik, Deputy Foreign Minister, accompanied Brezhnev. He had been Ambassador in London at the time of the Profumo scandal a few months earlier in which the Soviet naval attache was involved. Asked by a member of our staff about the affair, Malik said he had nothing to say except that it was a "nasty" matter.

Lord Mountbatten was a visitor at Rashtrapati Bhavan with his daughter Pamela, who had by then become Mrs Hicks. Her husband was an interior designer. I thought Mrs Hicks looked older than her husband. They were a jovial couple. I had heard that Mountbatten was a great friend of India and that it was because of his exertions that India was still in the Commonwealth. I had read Campbell-Johnson's *Mission with Mountbatten* and knew exactly how he felt about Rashtrapati Bhavan. I was not surprised when he went to every room with the ADC on duty and narrated incidents that had taken place in them. In the Cabinet Room he recalled that Gandhi, Nehru, Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan had fought a verbal battle, at the height of which Jinnah and Liaquat had walked out. A year after